promise, to which both the United States and Japan were s!g* natories, to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. In 1931-1932 the United States had bolstered the courage of the League of Nations in its vain attempt to check Japan in Manchuria and through its Stimson Doctrine had effectively discouraged recognition of Manchoukuo by most of the nations of the earth. On the renewed advance of Japan into China in 1937 the League of Nations and the United States had made clear their disfavor and the United States joined in a conference held in Brussels in pursuance of the terms of the Nine Power Treaty which sough;, futilely, to solve the problem presented by Japan's new violation of that agreement. Japanese quite obviously regarded Great Britain as an obstacle to their program in China and wished to eliminate from that land remaining British enclaves and influence. After 1937 and especially after the outbreak of the European war in September, 1939, preoccupied the British and rendered them all but impotent in the Far East, the Japanese inflicted many indignities upon British subjects, both private individuals and officials. Public and governmental opinion in the United States progressively hardened against Japan. Washington long exercised much restraint and contented itself with lodging protests against Japanese violations of American property and persons in China. Even a Japanese attack upon the American gunboat *Panay* in December, 1937, did not bring the United States into the war. However, by successive steps short of war the United States strove to restrain Japan. It strengthened its fleet and its Hawaiian defenses. In July, 1939, it denounced its commercial treaty

with Japan and, within the next two years, took measures to restrict exports to Japan of iron, steel scrap, and petroleum products, commodities essential to Japan's armed forces. In July, 1941, by command of the President both Chinese and Japanese assets in the United States were "frozen." The United States also gave financial aid to China. Negotiations between Japan and the United States made it increasingly clear that neither power would accede to the other's proposals for adjusting the difficulties. The United States was unalterably opposed to Japan's program in China and Japan was adamant. Japan, in a formal note, terminated the discussion on the very day that its forces assailed Pearl Harbor, seized the Inter-